

Plaine Truth without  
6/ FEARE OR FLATTERY:  
OR A  
TRUE DISCOVERY  
OF THE

Unlawfulnesse of the Presbyterian Government, it being inconsistent with Monarchy, and the Peoples Liberties, and contrary both to the Protestation and Covenant. The end of establishing the *Militia* of London in such hands as it is now put into by the new Ordinance. The betraying Votes, and destructive practices of a Traiterous Party in the House of Commons concerning certain Petitions for Liberty and Justice.

Essex Oliver

ALSO,

A Vindication of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, concerning certaine scurrulous words uttered by some of the said Faction,

WITH

The meanes and wayes that must be used to obtaine reliefe against the said tyrannous Usurpers; and for reducing the Parliament to its due Rights, Power and Priviledges, in the preservation of the Kingdome Lawes and Liberties.

1306  
Doubt  
Written by *I. L. John Lilburne*

Isaiah 3. 12, 13, 14.

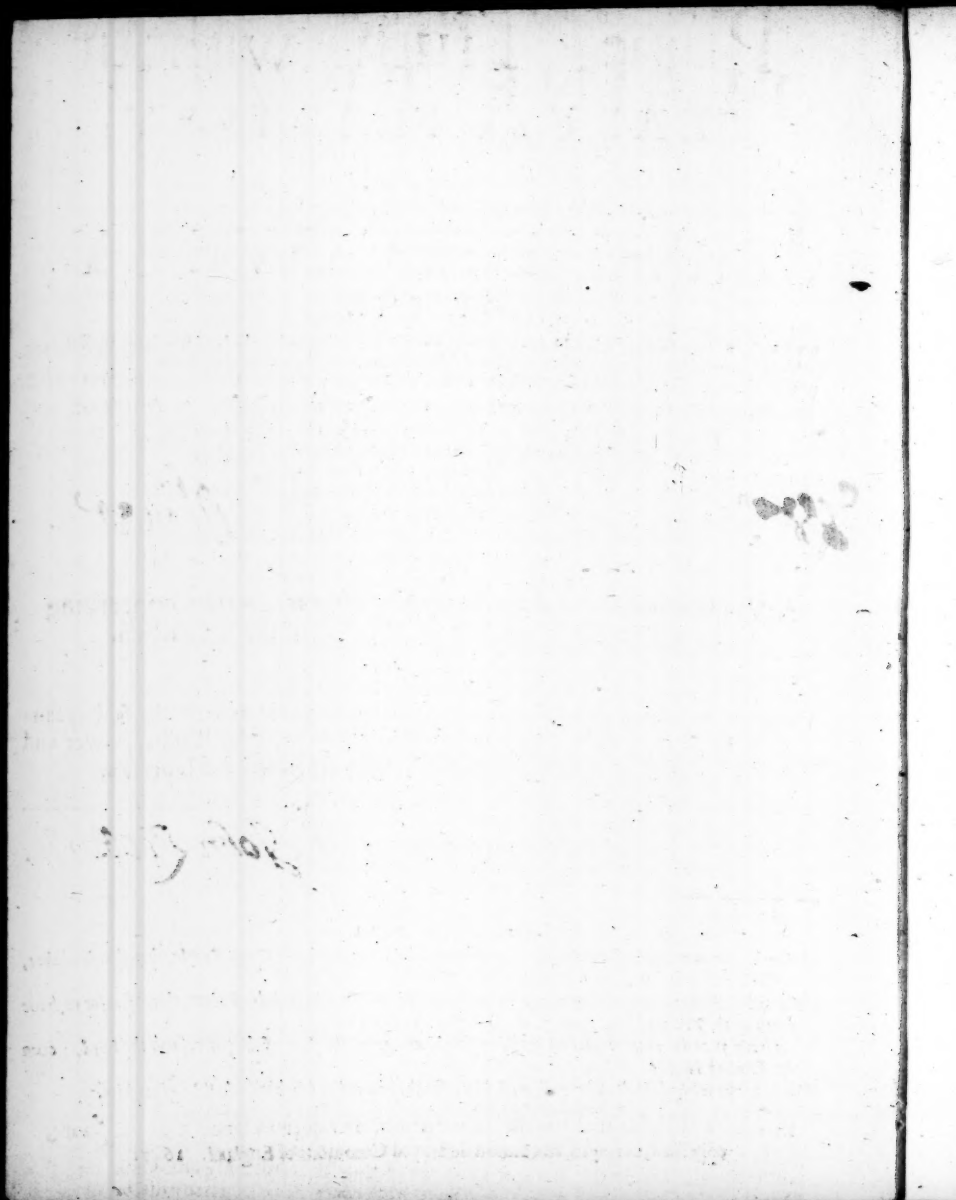
Children are extortioners of my People, and women have rule over them: O my People, they that lead thee, cause thee to erre, and destroy the way of thy paths.

The Lord shall enter into judgement with the Ancients of his People, and the Princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the Vineyard, the spoile of the poore is in your Houses.

What have ye to doe that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poore; saith the Lord, even the Lord of Hosts?

Woe be to the wicked, it shall be euill with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given him.

Printed and Published for the information, advice, and benefit of the poore, oppressed, betrayed, and almost destroyed Commons of England. 1647.



(3)  
PLAINE TRUTH

Without Feare, or Flattery.

**I**N the 28 Psalm, Verse 6. The Spirit of God speaking these of Iudges and Rulers, saith, they are Gods, and all of them children of the most high ; but he telleth them they shall die like men, and fall as one of the Princes. We unhappy men of *England*, have at this time a generation of ambitious imperious men, some of both Houses of Parliament, whose Names ye may elsewhere find ; who by their power and subtil practises doe frame and assume to themselves a supream power over us, and would faine be taken for Gods, and Sons of the most High by us ; yet they neither rule us like Gods, nor demean themselves amongst us as children of the most High : but rule us like Tyrants (a degenerate kind which God never made nor owned) and demean themselves more like children of disobedience ( serving their own base lusts and pleasures ) then children of the most high : for were they such, they would seeke the will of their Father in heaven and good of his People. But the Spirit saith they shall die like men ; the which it may be doubted these men beleve not ; but rather with the Atheisticall Epicure thinke they shall dye like Beasts, and that the soule, as well as the body returnes to the (*primam materiam*;) and so, if they can but escape the hand of justice here, they dreame not of hearing of their wicked deeds hereafter ; and therefore they have resolved (it appears) for the accomplishment of their own unrighteous ends, after the manner of all Atheisticall Statesmen, who cast the feare of God, and consideration of death and judgement behind them ) to assay all waies and meanes of wickednesse, as to vow and not pay, to promise and not performe, swear and forswear, covenant and breake, to feign, flatter, and play the hypocrite, ( I had almost said the devill ) to betray, destroy, rob, spoyle, oppresse, and violate all law and rule of government, infringe all rights, and liberties, imprison, persecute, deceive their trust, requite evill for good, and doe all manner of mischief and injustice, even whatsoever Sathan, and their wicked hearts shall prompt them unto ; insomuch that whatsoever they say or make shew of, their evill doings declare that they beleve not an immortallity and judgement : they professe themselves Christians, but if ye observe and consider their actions, you must say (and if you were a stranger you would swear) they were heathens : yea they doe worse then heathens, for did ever heathens take the name of their insensible Gods of wood and stone, so frequently and solemnly into their moutnes, by way of oath and covenant, as these men have done, and had it so little in reverence, and so little respect to what they have sworne, as these men have had the name of the great and terrible God of heaven, and of their oathes made unto him ? read all Stories, and search all Centuries of Ages, and if there be any such example of perjury, and swearing falsely by their God, equivalent to the example of these men of this generation, I will freely offer my selfe for a sacrifice, to expiate my offence against their holines; and yet they are ready with *Agurs* Harlot, Pro. 30. 20. to wipe their moutnes, and say we have done no wickednes. But that the truth may be made apparent, and expiated, let us heare their promises, vowes and speeches, and compare their deeds and promises.

First they doe in the Protestation promise, vow, and protest, in the presence of Almighty God (whom sure they think is like the God of *Baals* Priests, that could neither hear nor see) to maintaine and defend with their lives, powers, and estates, the true reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, against all Popery, and Popish Innovations within this Realme, contrary to the same doctrine, &c.

Yet they are now setting up, and have set up so farre as in them lieth, a Religion never before heard of within this Realme, and quite contrary to the professed doctrine of the Church of *England*, it being wholly opposite unto Christ, and a meer Popish innovation, brought out of *Scotland*, and violently imposed upon us : And thus it comes to passe, by the

confederacy of a haughty trayterous Party in the house of Parliament; of which are the Earles of *Manchester* and *Stamford*, Sir *Phillip Stapleton*, Mr. *Hollis*, and others with the proud covetous Priests, for the advancement of their designe of usurpation and Lordlines, both over his Majesty and us, vow and protest in like manner, to maintaine and defend the Kings Royall Person, honour and estate, and the lawfull rights and liberties of the Subject, and every one that should make the said Protestation, in pursuance of the same; and that they will not for hope, feare, or other respect, relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation. And do not accordingly maintain and defend the Kings Royall Person, Honour, and Estate? His Person with a company of Commissioners of their own stamp and temper, and with a Guard of able Horsemen and Souldiers (debauched *Graves* his Regiment) as if they were afraid to intrust any of the honest Commanders about him) as if he were rather a Prince of Thieves, then a Prince of three Kingdomes, or of a free people? and his honour and estate they defend with all the power and might they can; taking the Supream power upon themselves to grant Pardons, sell the Lands purchased with the lives and money of the People, without the Peoples consent; make Judges, create Lord Keepers or Chancellours, (and yet the King in presence, for they cannot now pretend a necessity by his absence) and making use of his name to violate all Law; oppress the People; and to commit all injustice: in a word, to destroy our Liberties, and to execute their own Arbitrary wills. They speake of having the Kings power with them virtually; but we can neither see nor find any of its proper vertue either among them, or from them; for his Majesties Regall power is just and mercifull, regulated by Law, preservative and corrective; and not unjust, cruell, irregular, and illegall, defacing and destructive; as the effects have been of the power which the Parliament hath exercised. And concerning the Kings estate and revenues; no question but it is accumulated, and that they have it in bank, for they have been very parcimonious Stewards; they can hardly spare either the master money for his necessities, or his servants any for wages: He, like a Ward, or Pupill, is at their set allowance, and content with the pittance his late tutors and guardians will allow him; I doubt not but it will prove that some of them have made better allowance to themselves both out of his estate, and the Republicques also.

Second, how by reason of the predominancy and power of this tyrannous Party, in both Houses, whose malignant pernicious influence hath been, and still is diffusive throughout all the Parliaments actions; all those which have taken this Vow and Protestation, are and have been defended in pursuance of the same, it is sufficiently manifest: For who but they that endeavour to maintain the true reformed Protestant Religion, according to the doctrine professed in the Church of *England*, in the power and purity of it, are hated, illegally persecuted, and persecuted, vilified, and reviled, and he is most favoured, and soonest preferred, that can shew himselfe most virulent, and violent against them? And if you do but sken, or looke (like a Hare) on the one side, at the Kings Crown and Dignity; you presently incurre (through the powerful Votes of this Party) the Parliaments high dislike and displeasure, and it is a sufficient badge, that you are an enemy, because you are io to Traitors to the State) witness the high dislike of the Armies wife, and just demand, of his Majesties royall assent to an Act of indemnity; & truly if they take a bare Parliament ordinance without the Royall assent, I will not give them one farthing for their security; and it will be found that their Judges, Chancellours, Excise men, and dequeltrators, are in the same case as the Souldiers; And to endeavour or petition for liberty, according to the Protestation, is as much as to beg a Prison, to sue for justice, is to be accounted seditious; in a word, to be sincere and honest, is to be adjudged worthy of no trust, imployment, or preferment.

But to make the truth, and the wicked practices and purposes of this destroying Party in both Houses, yet more plain and open, these cunning contrivers, of our intended Vassalage and thralldom, frame a combination and confederacy by covenant with the Scots, and by power and subtilty surprize and ensnare therein the whole Parliament and Kingdom: (the which I pray read, and observe) In their feigned profession of sorrow they acknowledge, that their not prizing the Gospell, nor labouring to receive Christ into their hearts, (and they say truly) hath been the cause of all other sinnes amongst us: And therefore with their



hands lifted up to the most high God, they do solemnly swear sincerely to endeavour a reformation of religion in the three Kingdomes, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches: now what means this juggle, and to the example of the best reformed Churches? above they swear and endeavour a reformation, and what sincerity is here, to make mens impure inventions equivalent to the infallible rule of Gods word? to make (*dogma Presbyteri*) the opinion of the Priest, adaequate to the unalterable last Will and Testament of Jesus Christ? only here by this Foyle, these deceitfull Spirits endeavour to bring in something of their own, that with their claw-back Priests they may seem to have something to do with Christ in his Church government, and to sit cheek by joule with him in his throne: and thus they do still dis-esteem the inestimable benefit of the Go'spell, and oppose it in the power and purity of it; even as their Fathers did, so do they, harden their hearts against the Lord. If the word of God be a sufficient rule to reform and govern the Church by; what need then of any other pattern or platform? The best reformed Churches which are this day in Europe need reformation, yea the pure Church of Scotland, notwithstanding all their pretence.

For if you observe our Brethrens various double dealings, turnings and windings, self seeking, and advantage-making in every business they transact or negotiate with us, far unbecoming men pretending to great conscientiousness in all things, & so highly professing the power of Religion, in pureness of life and conversation. At first they were against the King; then while he was with them, they speke and write highly for him, and now they have made

The Scots have made more of the King: then Judas did of the King of heaven.

the most they can of him, they are again become adversaries to him, one while they press one part of their deceitfull Covenant, as at first they did that part, for bringing evill instruments unto condign punishment, whilst that Delinquents troubled them: Afterward, when by craft they had gotten the King among them, hoping thereby to have had him established their Presbyterian Church-government within this Kingdom, they were very zealous for that part of the Covenant which concerns the preservation and defence of his Majesties person and authority: Now both the former are forgotten and they are at this instant extreme urgent, and importune for that part of the Covenant which concerns the reformation of Religion in the three Kingdomes: in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches: by which words, (the example of, &c.) they would have it granted that their Kirke of Scotland is the best reformed in all the world; and therefore we are bound by this clause of the Covenant (they conceive) to reforme by their pattern; and to imake their government our example; as if they, (blind Beetles) had obtained the very *summum gradum* of the government of the Church of Christ comprehended in the Gospel: thus using the Covenant as a Waterman doth his Saile, to turn every way, and hereby they justify the Scripture which saith, *a double minded mans unstable in all his wayes, Jam. 1. 8.* but not one Word do they speake for justice, or liberty of the Subject, though they see all oppression and violence rage and raige amongst us, this part of the Covenant they lifted up their hands as high to God, and swore so solemnly to performe, as any other, but because they have no use for it, they regard it not: the truth is, they profess they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable, and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate.

But to speake more particularly of our own Presbyterian Reformers, the Scotists of our Kindome M. *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, and the rest of the zealous hypocrites, (with their Antichristian Priests) Covenanters, they swear you see my Friends to endeavour a reformation in Religion according to the word of God, and the Parliament as seeming to adhere only to this sure and alone necessary and sufficient rule for reformation, and not to take the bare opinions of men for granted truths, without justification from the word of God: to which end they long since propounded queries concerning the said government, for the Assembly to prove by the word of God, for the justification of it: the which queries I have here inserted, for every mans better information, and consideration, to wit:

First, whether the Parochiall, and Congregationall Elderships, appointed by Ordinance

of Parliament are *jure divino*, by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

Secondly, Whether all the members of the said Eldership, are members thereof, or which of them are, *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

Thirdly, Whether the Supreme Assemblies, or Elderships viz. the Classicall, Provinci-  
all, and nationall, whether all, or any of them, or which of them, are *jure divino*, and by  
the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

Fourthly, Whether appeals from congregationall Elderships, to the Classicall Provin-  
ciall, and Nationall Assemblies, or to any of them, are *jure divino*, and by the will and ap-  
pointment of Jesus Christ ?

Fifthly, Whether Oecumenicall Assemblies, are *jure divino*, and whether there be ap-  
peales from any of the former Assemblies to the said Oecumenicall Assemblies, *jure divino*,  
by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

Sixthly, Whether by the word of God, the power of judging and declaring what are noto-  
rious and scandalous offences, and of conventing before them, triall, and actual suspending  
from the Sacrament such offenders accordingly, either in the congregationall Eldership, or  
Presbytery, or in any other Eldership, or Presbytery presented to the Houses, as the advice  
of the assembly, and whether such powers are in them only, or any of them, and in which  
of them *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

Seventhly, Whether there be any certaine and particular rules expressed in the word of  
God, to direct the said Elderships or Presbyteries, or any of them in the exercise and ex-  
ecution of the powers aforesaid, and which are those rules ?

Eighthly, is there any thing contained in the word of God, that the Supreme Magistracy  
in a Christian State may not judge and determine what are the aforesaid notorious & scan-  
dalous offences, and the manner of suspension from the same, and in what particulars con-  
cerning the premises, are the said Supreme Magistracy in the word of God excluded ?

In answer of which particulars, the House of Commons desired of the Assembly of di-  
vines (falsly so callen) their proofs from Scripture, and to set down the severall texts of  
Scripture in the exprets words of the same. And it was also ordered that every particular  
Minister of the said Assembly, that was, or should be present at the debate of any of these  
Questions, should upon every resolution that was to be presented to the House concerning the  
same, subscribe his respective name, either with the affirmative or negative, as hee should  
give his vote, and that they which should dissent from the major part, should set down their  
positive opinions, with the expresse texts of Scriptures upon which their opinions were  
grounded.

Here you see an excellent way for the prooffe of this Scottish creature prescribed, and a  
great deal of seeming care in the Parliament to set up a Religion according to the word of  
God, and not according to the Church of Scotland: and yet though these severall queries or  
questions were by the fallacious Assembly never answered unto this day, nor are they able  
to answer them satisfactorily, for they can neither immediate, or mediate, directly, or by con-  
sequence, prove by the word of God, and Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ, their so much  
pres'd Presbyterian government to be *jure divino*, by divine Law or right, as they most pre-  
sumptuously, & audaciously have alledged: yet nevertheless although these queries were ne-  
ver resolved, nor the Parliament ever satisfied by sufficient prooffe out of the word of God,  
of the lawfulness of this government, whether it be the government of Jesus Christ or not,  
hath this evil party (where of Mr Holles a man ever factious, is reputed chiefe) by their  
heady presumptuous courses, to raise to themselves a faction from London & the Scots, for  
their owne security, and to drive on their own premeditated design of dominion and sove-  
rignity, prevailed to have it established by Ordinance, enjoyning it in all places, and upon  
all persons, with as much rigour and severity as ever the Bishops did their conformity, all  
which (ye see) is directly against their Covenant, and no other then plain perjury: but un-  
less they can establish this Scottish Presbyterian government, they can never absolutely esta-  
blish tyranny, for the expedients of this Presbyterian government conduce directly unto ty-  
ranny, even to abolish all rules of Law and civil liberty, it is an antipathy to Monarchy, and

the legall power of civill Magistracy and brings under a yoke (where it is predominant) both King and People (as shall God willing be demonstrated fully in due time) and by this meanes these aspirers hope through the help of the Priests to order King *Charles* (as the Presbyterians in Scotland did King *James*) whom they did restraine, affront, disobey, and raise tumults against) if he prove refractory to any of their arbitrary Councils; and so suppress and curb us the free Commoners that we shall not be able either to help him, or remedy our selves.

Yet questionless, if ye aske any of these our master Reformers, if when they made and took the Covenant, they did not intend to make Gods word their direct rule of reformation? They will answer, yes: otherwise they must confesse themselves most hatefull hypocrites; denying the truth and sufficiency of the holy Scriptures, men that intend no Religion, but a treasonable designe against King and People under that notion; and I wish it doe not prove so in the end by some men. If they did intend (as they will not deny) to make Gods word their Rule, to reforme by: why doe they make the Church of Scotland, the rule of their Reformation, and cast the word of God behinde them? Why do they enforce upon us the reformation (or rather deformation) of another Kingdom, no waies justified or approved by the holy Scriptures, and not endeavour (as they have sworne) sincerely, to seeke out what the good will of the Lord is, concerning his Church, and worship, what order and rule he hath prescribed and left us by his owne Son in the Gospell? Doth not God the Father say, *This is my beloved Son* heare him, Mark. 9. 7. And is it not written, And *Moses* truly said unto the Fathers, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me, him shall ye heare in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you, \* and it shall come to pass, that every soule which shall not heare that Prophet shall be destroyed from among the people, *Mat.* 22. 23. And doubtless, Christ, who was a Son, was not less faithfull in Gods house then *Moses*, who was a servant. And againe ye have a sure word (saith the Apostle) unto which ye doe well to take heed, *2 Pet.* 1. 19. Yet doe these presumptuous men despise this command of God, and neglect this sure word; hearken to their owne corrupt humours, take heed to their owne ambitious covetous desires, and so proceed in despite of

\* not the  
Scots, nor  
the Priests.  
\* marke &  
tremble  
all yee  
Priests &  
Presbyterians.

God and his Christ, to erect a government after their owne inventions: But they will tell you that the Assembly have searched the Scriptures, and had respect to the word, in framing this government, I beleeve they have, but as the Devill did, to make use of them for his own ends, against Christ; for they did not search to find what government it was the Gospell did hold out and warrant, and propound and promote that: But they first resolve upon & propound such a government as will serve their purpose, and then they apply themselves to make it good by Scriptures, or to enforce the Scriptures for a warrant: thus have they made their forme of Church government the rule of Gods word, and not Gods word a rule to their form of government, having done no otherwise then many Attornies & Clerks doe, who often draw Declarations and writings by another mans president or patterne, without examining or consulting the Law, in the case; which is just as if a Taylor should first make a suit, and then make use of his measure. And grant that this Presbyteriall government be according to the word of God, it is so (*in toto*) Is it so absolute that there is no degree of Reformation above it? if so, then the Scots have exceeded that grand planer of Churches, Saint Paul; for he told the *Corinthians*, That he would yet shew them a more excellent way, *Cor.* 12. 31. And that we know but in part, and prophetic but in part, but when that which is perfect is come, that which is imperfect shall be abolished, *1 Cor.* 13. 9. 10. And Saint Peter and the Prophets spake of a new Heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Of such a beautifull & perfect Reformation and change, as if it was a new world, *2 Pet.* 3. 13. and *Esa.* 64. 17. I hope no proud Priest or Presbyterian, dare affirme that there is yet any such Reformation or change in Scotland; righteousness dwelleth not there I am sure: and I would it was not almost banished out of England. For as much then as there is a reformation more true and excellent than theirs (or else theirs is none at all) why may not the Independents (so called) or some others, approach neerer to it then they? with

waies, then doth in the waies of the Presbyterians : unless the Presbyterians will affirme themselves the onely wise, and that the spirit of the most high God, dwels only in them : but then they must give me leave to aske them Saint Pauls question, 1 Cor. 14. 36. *Came the word of God out from you ? Or came it unto you onely ? Or did the Bishop seale unto the Presbyterian Priests the holy Spirit, when they sealed unto them their Ordination, and so they have kept it ever since close up in a box, to be brought forth in these times ? Truly (my friends) as learned Rabbies as they are, They erre, not knowing the Scriptures : To the Law (therefore) and to the Testimony, if they speake not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them : Isa. 8. 20.* The Devill preached truer doctrine, when he said, *that Jesus was the Sonne of God, Mat. 8. 29.* then these Priests when they say that the Presbyterian government is *jus divinum*, the law and government of Jesus Christ; but this is as true as

\* Mr. Seymour one of the Assembly affirms it in a dispute.

\* And the rather because it is enforced by another Nation and without the Kings approbation.

that the Church of Rome is a true Church, the which they do now \* affirme, to prove their Antichristian standing true. And now here by the way I will occasionally put a few Queries.

First whether in case a forme of Church-government and worship, contrary to the word of God, be by force put upon us, against our consciences, by the Parliament and Presbyterian Assembly: it be not by the same reason, as lawfull for us to refuse and resist it (*vi et armis*) by force \* as it was for the Scots in like manner, to reject and resist the forme of Church-government, and worship put violently upon them against their consciences by the King and Bishops?

Secondly, whether the Scots ought, or have any more authority or right to prescribe or endeavour an imposition of Church-government, and worship upon the people of England, then the people of England have to prescribe and endeavour the imposition of the like upon the People of Scotland?

Thirdly, If not : Whether the Scots go not beyond their Last ? Do not move out of their sphere, and intermeddle with what they ought not ?

And now seeing, there is, (as cannot be denied) a more high pitch of Reformation in Religion, and holy worship, then is yet attained, or discovered ; I hope it is no offence nor transgression against the State, for any true Christian, or servant of Jesus Christ, to press hard after it, and not to conform himself to fixed formes, bounds & limits, thereby to confine Gods holy Spirit : Ye stiffe-necked and rebellious (Priests) of uncircumcised hearts and eares, ye have alwaies resisted the Holy Ghost ; as your Fathers (the Bishops) did, so do yee. *Act. 7. 51.* I have insisted the more upon this particular that the truth herein might be cleare ; because of the great delusion put upon the People by many of our pretending Reformers, through their grand Oaths and pretexts, of expelling all Popery and Popish innovations, even whatsoever should be contrary to sound doctrine (for so I understand those words in the Protestation, contrary to the same doctrine) and to reforme Religion according to the

Word of God, and to establish it in the power and purity of it, and yet

\* If the standing of the Bishops were antichristian, what is theirs who stand by their ordination and power ? notwithstanding apply all their interest and power to support an \* antichristian Ministry, and to establish Church-government, whose fruits and effects are nothing but impiety, and hypocrisie, a Religion which consists more in outward formes and rites, after the manner of *Moses*, then in power and piety according to the Gospel : which conduceth (as appears) more to tyranny, then Christianity.

And so I will pretermitt their Vowes and Oaths, and come to some of their speeches and sayings : and here I will shew you another truth, by the discovery of another fallhood, and treacherous vantage act, of the same traitorous party or faction, which serves as a patterne, representation, or image, of the forme of the yoke of bondage, which (it may be suspected) they study, and intend to put upon all the Counties and Corporations in the Kingdome, and by which, with the helpe of their determined new Army of Horse (it is probable) they purpose if they can, to subjugate the whole Land, and to con-

conforme the People to their arbitrary wills, even to pay, and beare, doe, and suffer, whatsoever they shall thinke fit to enjoyne them, or exact upon them, as well in respect of things spirituall as civill. In the Parliaments Remonstrance of the 1 of November, 1642. Book Decl. pag. 706. they tell us, That all Rights or Interest of publicke trust, are only for the publicke good, and not for private advantages, nor to the prejudice of any mans particular interest, much lesse of the publique. And in May 1642. Book Decla. 172. They call God to witness, that the safetie of the Kingdome, and peace of the people, is their onely aime; and because the King would not believe them therein (and well had it been for us if we had never so done) nor trust them wholly therewith, great grew the contestation (as yee may well remember) betweene the King and the Parliament, about the setting of the Militia of the Kingdome, and indeed it was one unhappy cause of the quarrell between them: The Parliament then pretending that the King ought not to settle it without them, that it behoved them to have the nomination of such persons as were to be intrusted therewith, in whom they might confide: the King affirmes (and they afterwards grant) That the whole power thereof was intrusted by Law in him, for the preservation and defence of the Kingdom; yet because the King would not passe the Ordinance in Febu. 1641. for the setting it in such forme as they desired, though the persons they nominated were not refused; they presently protest (I with they were as quick to doe justice, as they are to take exceptions) to dispose of it without him, and accordingly resolve. (*Rebus sit stantibus, & nolens Regi*) that is, they expresse, in extream distraction, when forreigne forces are probably invited and a malignant Popish partie offended, &c. the ordering it to be in them for the (observe) preservation of the Republique, and to prevent the turning the Armes of the Kingdome upon it selfe, see the Parliaments answer to their owne question, pag. 150. of the Booke of Decla. But I hope the case is now altered, for although our distractions be still continued by the destructive Councell, of a pernicious faction in both Houses (the heads of which were, and are the cause both of those distractions and these, who like katchers of Eeles, love to fish in the troubled waters) here is now no feare of invited forreign forces, and as for that malignant Popish partie then so much condemned, it is utterly subdued and suppressed; and therefore in all reason (*Rebus nunc sit stantibus*) that is) the so much feared publicke adversary being long since conquered, all visible danger removed, and the King recovered out of the hands of evill Counsellors, and at present with themselves, and not legally divested of his Regall power and right of trust; in a word, all just pretext, and colour of extremity being taken away, they take too much upon them, and abuse both King and People, who in this opportunitee, wherein the Royall Assent may be had, doe dispose of the Militia without him, neither requiring his consent therein, nor admitting the People according to the Law, to the Election of (a thing the King allowed them) the persons who are to be intrusted, with the dispose and command of their strength and armes, and so by consequence of their estates, liberties and lives: I am certaine, in case (as God forbid) the Royall Throne should by exigent become void, the Parliaments are not their owne Masters, nor can by the fundamentall Law and constitution of this Kingdome, dispose of us the Commons of England, and our power, armes, or interest, without our consents, how much lesse at this instant: All the Commons of England have more just ground of jealousie from them in now so doing, and of complaint and accusation against that malevolent ill-affected party among them, by whose power and influence it hath been effected, considering the persons unto whom the Militia and strength of the Kingdome, is in divers places of late committed, then the Parliament ever had from and against the King, for refusing onely to grant it in their way and manner: for they chose the persons, and he approved them; but the Parliament are herein both choosers and approvers (as in many things, many of them are both Judge and Witnesse) though we neither approve, nor assent: and thus wee, as well as the King, are in this particular debarred from them, of our right and privilege: but this is not the greatest detriment we sustaine, and are likely without prevention to suffer, and which this predominant malicious partie intends, hereby: for doe but cast your eye, and see and consider what persons are put out of the Militia; and what persons are continued, admit-



ted, and intrusted; and yee will presently judge by a little what the whole meanes. For example, first for for an introduction, the pretended Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Common-Council, must petition in the name of the Citie, though the Citie never propounded it to them, to have the Militia settled in their owne hands, (as they had formerly) and why not then to have it by their Charter, but by Ordinance for a certaine time? and this by the power and prevalency of the malevolent partie is forthwith obtained, because it tends to their predominant, tyrannous ends: approved Alderman *Pennington*, who stood in the breach when they all were afraid, whose fidelitie and abilitie was thoroughly experienced, at such time when as the winds blew highest, and the stormes grew strongest; a man adjudged by the Citie worthy to be their Parliament-man, and by the Parliament worthy to be Lieutenant of the Tower of London, is now no longer worthy to be intrusted with the Militia, but turned out as a man suspected; so are the Aldermen, *K. Foulk, Fowler*, and *Kewick*, Col. *Wilson*, though a Member of the House, also Col. *Playe*, *Tichburn*, and others: And why? they are not absolute for the Faction; they were opposit to *Bunce*, and *Bellamy*; the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council, in the prosecution of the last indirect, illegall, and factious Remonstrance and Petition; by which means they discovered themselves opponants to their Scotch designe of Presbytery, and therefore they are not any longer to be confided in, or fit to have the command of any power: howsoever they had a parcell of dry thanks from the House for their former fidelitie and paines: it is better I confesse then a Prison (as *Litburn*, *Tuleday*, *Robinson*, *Nichols*, & multitudes more have had) for their good service. Yet I must tell them, it is but after the old manner of the Court, who used to put a man off with an hypocriticall complement, when they had no further occasion to use him, or were desirous to be quit of him: and it is observed, that empty thanks is a sufficient reward from the House, for any honest man, though his service hath been never so good, and superlative, unless they have some other design or engagement upon him: but to Knaves and Fooles they have been very forward and free, (witness the 10 l. given to the two Officers that brought up Ensigne *Nichols*; and the arrears lately ordered to be paid two great ones, for discovering two great lyes: by which you may see, they can pay whom they list, and whom they list they will not:.) I could instance you some examples of late, and their owne nests are generally so well feathered, that many, or most of them are almost smothered, they can neither see, hear nor speake. Alas poore Commons of England, your backs in the meane time are left bare and naked! But to proceed; marke what honest men are continued, put in, and intrusted with the Militia, for the honest men that are put out and distrusted: Aldermen, *Bunce*, *Adams*, *Langham*, (every man of knowledge can read them) Colonels, *West*, and *Bellamy*, the one an oppressive Goaler, the other an arrogant Mag-pye, and *Bromfield* that ran away at Newberry: the Lord Maior Sir *John Geere*, who was plundered for his 20th. and 5th. party, who maliciously circumvents men, that he may like the devil take them in a snare, and then imprisons them, contrary to law, (as he did Master *Tew*, and then sent his Marshall to apprehend him without a Warrant) a hopefull Magistrate, and fit to be intrusted with the publique Sword, for the execution of the Lawes, and defence of the Subjects just Rights and Liberties: and that Sir *John Woolaston*, who by the Law is more worthy to be arraigned before a Bench of Assize for buying stoln \* Plate of the Kings, then to sit upon the Bench of judgement

\* It is truth, to oppresse and doe justice, as his common practice is, or to be intrusted with and when the Militia; for it is contrary to all principles of reason, that a Magistrate, or time serves publique Minister, who is unjust to the People in his place or practise, will will be pro- ever be faithfull to them in time of trouble or distresse, or defend either them or their liberties, whensoever they are assailed; the Hawke will as soone defend

the Dove, and the Kite the Chickens: this is that Sir *John Woolaston*, who right or wrong commits all to Newgate that come before him, for the benefit of his brother the head Goaler there; who is as diligent to starve and destroy them when he hath them under custody, (as he did one *Spark* lately, and hath done many more) as the other is to commit them. As for Alderman *Gibbs* of the Militia, he hath a good stock of money in the name of his Sonne, beyond the Seas, he need not care which way the world goes; good Sir *John*

*Woolaston*

*Woolston* and he, had their fingers both in one Pye; I hope they lick'd them cleane; and themselves (like Bullocks) fat, though they have lick't others leane: their silver tongues acquit them well in *Ryters* businesse, and they have you know been esteemed honest and trusty ever since: I could read you a Character of most of them, but to avoid prolixitie I will now forbear till a more convenient time: and will only tell you what I apprehend to be the end of this sudden, and so happy settlement of the Militia of London; the effect, and what you may expect by it.

1. By this meanes, the Earl of *Manchester*, *M. Hollis*, *Stapleton*, Earl Senior, and the rest of this traitorous faction, who have occasioned the violation of all our Lawes and Liberties, betrayed their trust; and are the chiefe obstructers of the course of Justice, and redresse of grievances; promoters of all evill counsels, and the cause of the continuance of all our troubles and distractions; who among other things drive a design to save their own Stakes, and secure their own lives; for that they know they are for these things lyable to question, and abnoxious to Justice, doe conceive they have well secured themselves from all invasion, by Petition or cry for justice against them, from any partie within the City.

2. That they shall by this meanes the more easily erect their new formed Monster of Presbytery; for what they cannot perswade, they will inforce, and who (thinke they) now dare, or can resist it?

3. They conceive they shall easily suppress the Independent partie (as they terme them) and d'vert them from petitioning for Law and Libertie, to both which these vile men are altogether averse, and that if they doe notwithstanding, continue such their petitioning, yet may they the more securely deny and distaste their petitions, and punish their persons: for is not the Militia in their hands? And if they will not submit like slaves, but begin to stirre and strugge; then the Militia is ready to oppose them as Rebels and Traytors, although they challenge both right and justice of their servants, who are many of them become Traytors: and this is apparent by their late declaring their high displeasure against that just petition, & the Petitioners, for divers points of liberty & justice, which was preferred by a multitude of well-affected Citizens: first, it was intercepted & anticipated, contrary to the course of Parliaments, and the libertie of the Subject, by the meanes of Recorder *Glin*, (who hath

shewed more favour to Captaine \* *Thomas Evans*, a notorious murderer, then \* *Evans* will ever he did to poore Orphans, for whom he should have been a just Advocate) fully killed and witnesseth the Orphans of *M. Bury*, against whom heooke Fees (if not bribes) a man, and by which meanes (notwithstanding many petitions, and as many faire promises being from the then temporizing Lord Major *Adams*, and others of that Orphan devouring Faction) the said Orphans to this day can obtaine no justice, nor part before the Recorder, he pounds, & thus are the poore Orphans miserably ruin'd having spent the great part of their annuall revenue for five yeares together, to obtaine justice, the poore but by the corruption of *Brigandine* (who squares his actions by his Masters Rule) and power of the Recorder who is the Executors friend, nothing can be freed the done; all passages are block't up; honest men dare not speak, and knaves will murder. not, and so the poor Orphans are left altogether remediless: but to proceed, the aforesaid Petition being referred to a Committee, and the Citizens put off with faire words, till this grand Ordinance for the Militia was passed, and then presently they thundered, as if the Petition had tended to the prejudice of Church and State.

4. If they want money, or a new Army to secure themselves, that old Ass the Citie must raise men, or send out their Trained Bands for them; & the poore Commons of London must pay and beare, or else be plundered, and what remedy; and whatsoever the Parliament will exact, and the Military men execute, the Commons of London must obey and submit to, though never so unjust a tax, or imposition: But you will say, the Trained Bands will not be all of a mind, but this Partie having prevailed to New-Modelling of the Commissioners, you shall see them New-Model the Train Bands also, & here is the first piece of the frame of Englands slavery; & must serve (if they can carry it) for a leading cale unto the whole Kingdom



The effects (yee Commons of London) which yee may expect hence, are the utter abolition of your free Elections of your Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common-Councell-men, and other publicke Officers, of your body and Corporation, so that now you may bid all your privileged adue, and the free, borne Apprentices after seaven years hard

\* Marke yee Apprentices. servitude, \* expect a Perpetuall vassallage; by this means the hopes yee had of the recovery of ancient Rights and immunities are frustrate, and yee (after all your costs and adventures for your liberties) become the first absolute slaves in

England, if God doe not otherwise prevent, or raise up some *Othniel, E-bud, Shamger, Barak, or Gideon* to deliver you. And in such hands as these, this desperate domineering faction, by symptoms and signes, purpose to settle the Militia, in all the Counties and Corporations of the Kingdom, and have already in Durham, Cumberland, and other places Northward, put it principally into their hands, who are declared Traytors and Enemies to the State, Malignants and Delinquents, some of which have been actually in war against the Parliament and their Country, as Sir *George Vane*, old Sir *Henries* Son, who was in armes with the King, and is now made one of the Deputie Lieutenants of the Militia for Durham, a Justice of Peace, and a Committee-man, and yet scarce good commoditie for the Hang-man, S. *Wiffid Lawton* of Cumberland such another, yet by the prevalency of this partie, intrusted with the *posse-Committatus*, whereby he may raise the Countie, and cut all honest mens throats, if he imagine cause: To tell you of the commands & power wherewith Lieutenant Col. *Officer*, Cap. *Musgrave, Story, Stodder*, and divers others are invested and intrusted in those parts, who have beene in armes against the Parliament and their Country, to the great trouble, hazard, and affliction of all the faithfull & wel-affected there, besides many others in other places of the Land, would be too tedious; let these for present suffice for example: and all, rather then to trust the honest and approved in the Land, because they are contrary to their treasonable designs and practices, and will not suffer themselves nor the Country to become their vassalls and pack-horses. I wish those Northern Countries had no just cause of complaint against that deceitfull double-dealing Lord *Wharton*, I will for speciall cause (not that I fear or regard him, or any man, farther then he is sincere and virtuously honourable) spare him; but it is good for him and others to repent, and doe their first workes, lest a worse thing befall them; there is nothing hid, but it may be made manifest: to runne away from a fight for feare, is tollerable, and is

\* Witness Ge- contingent to the greatest \* Generall; but for a professed Souldier of *Generall Lesbly*, fus Christ to turne his backe and flee from the truth, is to be abhorred.

Hath not Christ said, He will be ashamed of such, when he shall come in his Fathers glory with the holy Angells? *Mark* 8. 38. And did *Jehsaphat* prosper, that tooke part with *Ahab*? Or ever any escape by iniquitie? And if *Meroz* was cursed, yea, bitterly cursed, because they would not helpe, what are they that doe hurt? And are not they also cursed (though they be doing) that doe Gods worke negligently? Consider these things seriously all yee that are sunke & fetled upon the lees, all the Neuters and indifferent ones, that plead moderation, non-leson, and prudence, for your basenesse of spirit, negligence, and cowardice, in the great Cause of God, and this distressed Kingdom, and yee (*Timidi*) yee fearfull ones, who are more afraid of the face and displeasure of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and whose counells perish, then of the power and wrath of God, Who is a consuming fire, and whose counells abide for ever: That feare more the losing of your places and profits, then the losing of Gods favour and countenance, and the peace of a good conscience. Read that 21. *Rev.* and tremble, remember your selves, rouse up your spirits, and shew your selves courageous for truth and justice, and zealous for the glory of the Lord of Hosts; if yee will not, know that deliverance will come to Gods People some other way, and yee shall not escape. As for M. *Hollis* and others, whose counells and practices tend principally to treason and tyranny, in justice and violence (I know what I say, and doubt not yet but in time to see it proved to) who live without Law, and act contrary to Law, like Traytors and Rebels: Let such men know, that God will render unto them according to their workes; and I am confident, that they shall never be able to accomplish their wicked enter-

pitze, and that the pit they have digged for others, they shall fall into themselves. 'God will take them by their own counsels, as he did in old time, *Achitophell* and *Haman*; and as hee did *Strafford* and *Canterbury*, in these dayes: yea, in those two presidents, they have prepared a halter for their owne necks, and their owne words shall be their Judges: *Strafford* and *Canterbury* were condemned for reasonable counsell and speeches, endeavours, and intentions of subverting the fundamentall Lawes, and frame of government, and of setting up an arbitrary power, and rule of government: And whether *Hollis* and others, his presumptuous complices, have not been, (not only the intenders and indeavourers, but) the real authors and actors of these things, I doe appeale to all intelligent men, who have taken any cognizance of their counsels and actions? So that if the King (as it is a question) did want just matter of occasion in his charge of treason against *M. Hollis*, and others in 1641. both he and the whole Kingdome may without much search, find enough doubt esse at this time; yea, have not *M. Hollis* and others, his complices and confederates,

\* Read & consider them, and compare them with their actions, B. Decla. page 34: not onely verified many or most of those \* articles of Treason and misdemeanors: but also argued and exceeded them in many things? I could but at present for speciall reasons will not particularize: in the meantime, (my friends) make use of your owne observations, call your memories to account, and compare things with things, advise well, make your selves strong, and feare not. Why should the old English proverb (for our love and faithfulness) be made true upon us? Save a traitor or theefe from the gallows, and he shall be the first that shall hang you: indeed we are neer it, if we doe not bestir our selves and prevent it: But it is better that a few presumptuous men; whose Lucifer-like pride and ambition hath lifted them up to Heaven, should be cast down into oblivion and darknesse, then the whole Nation perish.

And therefore yee free Commoners of England up quickly, and looke about you; consider seriously the snare prepared for you, and compare the vehement endeavours of these trayterous persons to disband the Army, (which hath fought and is resolved to stand for your liberties) with this their patterne, and first piece of thraldome, in setting the Militia thus at this time in such mens hands in London, and their putting power into the hands of such as are enemies to the publicke in the Country, and see if these men intend any thing to you and yours but bondage and slavery, and this is part of that ye are told.

\* Both worth your notice. in the \* books called the Warnings for all the Counties of England, and the New found Stratagem upon the Petition of Essex. Be vigilant therefore and assistant to keep the Army on foot, for your owne defence, and preservation of your selves, your estates and liberties, Country and posterities, from inextricable vassalage, and irrecoverable ruine; for that once downe, this ambitious party, who aime at Sovereignty, to make the King their scorne, and us their slaves, will presently not only turne the Militia in every place upon the Country, (as they have already designed in the City) but raise horse also after the manner of Germany, in all Counties of the Kingdome for the better securing themselves, and this their forme of tyranny, and if such bee no traitors, who be? Where shall we find any? and if this be to employ their publicke trust, for the \* publicke good, and whether their f onely aime, bee herein the Kingdomes safety and the peoples peace, as they have declared and spoken, let all England judge? And thus yee see they falsify their words and Declarations, as well as break their Oaths & Protections: but

\* Book Decla. page 700. therein the Kingdomes safety and the peoples peace, as they have declared and spoken, let all England judge? And thus yee see they falsify their words and Declarations, as well as break their Oaths & Protections: but

† Page 172. in their Booke of Declarations page 207. they say, That in case of extreme danger, and his Majesties refusal to settle the Militia of the Kingdome, the Ordinance (that is the Ordinance which was then made in that time of such extreme danger) agreed upon by both Houses for the Militia, doth oblige the people, and ought to be obeyed by the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, but now, (blessed be God) here is no such case of extreme danger, neither hath the King been so much as petitioned, or sought unto for this Ordinance of the Militia of London, and therefore it doth not bind the People, nor can they by the fundamentall Lawes of the Land; be compelled to obey it, besides they ordering the Militia to the

publique hurt, and not to the publique good, contrary to the intent and equity of the Law, and the end of their trust, the people are (*ipso facto*) discharged of their obedience to their Ordinance, for we are not bound to obey to our own dammage and destruction; see this proved by their owne destruction and argument, in Book of Deel. page 150. But to make a farther discovery of the truth, by discovering more of this evil parties falshood, breach of trust, and traitorous practices against us: take notice, that in the Book of Declarations pa. 720. the Parliament declare, That it is the liberty and priviledge of the people, to petition unto them, for the ease and redresse of their grievances and oppressions, and that they are (marke) bound in duty to receive their Petition: here is a fair acknowledgement; but I pray you marke their actions: many thousand honest and really affected to the publick liberty, in the City, had prepared a petition to have been presented to the House of Commons, for redress of some grievances and oppressions, and restoration of some liberties and priviledges, comprehending nothing but things legall and just, what they ought to grant: this Petition, contrary to all course of Parliament and the liberty of the Subject, was by the power and subtilty of the aforesaid faction or party, ( who have their setting dogs and scagles to discry and hunt for them ) intercepted (as thus they anticipated the Armes Petition) before it was perfected, and made ready to be presented, the copy of it was read in the House, and referred to a Committee (whereof fierce-fiercy M. Lee was Chair-man ) to examine and report it (they did not so by the factious Petition and Remonstrance framed by the pretended Lord Maior and Common-Councill-men) against which they then not finding any just cause of exception, held the vouchers thereof with faire words in hopes of an answer, untill they had mounted their late new Ordinance of the Militia for London, and then they declared their distaste and displeasure against it; the which unjust dealing & violation of our native liberty and priviledge, the petitioners not brooking, presented a Petition to the House of Commons for justice and redress, and desire that their former Petition might not be censured before it was in due order presented; hereupon, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, and the rest of that faction ( waitours to their Country ) according to their usuall course through their malignant influence prevalency, procured this latter Petition to be voted seditious, and that both it and the former should be burnt by the hands of the hang-mans, (was there ever such a thing done before by a Parliament in England, sure not ) and that to question any act done in the House, was a breach of the priviledges of Parliament: but by cunning to intercept the former Petition, and tyrannically to suppress and reject it, and illegally to imprison some of the Petitioners for it ( as they have done M. *Tue*, and M. *Browne* ) was no breach of the priviledge of the Subject ( No, deare friends and fellow Commoners, unless ye have ( like foolles ) resolved with your selves, after so sharp and bloody a contestation for your Law, and your liberties, to relinquish your claime by *Magna Charta*, and the good old Law; and to hold your lives and liberties, and all you have, by the Arbitrary Votes of the House of Commons, and to become Tenants at will, unto a company of Traitors, and Tyrants: in Gods name, upd emand redresse, and vindicate your selves, and native rights, against Votes and Voters, (*hodie mihi, cras tibi*) what these men doe, to this or that party, or place of the Kingdome, and people to day, thy may and will doe to another part or place to-morrow. And they have unjustly refused more then a few (as that of the Counties of *Buckingham* and *Hereford*, and divers others from all parts ) petitioners for redress of grievances, and granting of liberties already, and in this late particular president, is the very essence and end of a Parliament perverted; the rights of Parliament, & the ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings subverted, and our native rights and priviledges, so much as lies in this destructive party, wholly vacated and destroyed. And whether this strainge Vote and fact, doe not justifie the fifth article exhibited by the King against *Hollis* and others 1641. (Book Deel. page 35.) by which he chargeth them, To have traitorously endeavoured, to subvert the very rights and beings of Parliaments? I beseech you all yee lovers of Englands liberties, consider, and judge: And also part of that first seventh Article exhibited by the House against the Earle of *Strafford*. Yea, consider I beseech you, compare and see, if the words, waies, counsels and practices of the Earle of *Manchester*, *Hollis*, *Stapleton* and others

thers, their complices and confederates, doe not tully answer the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and part of the 6. Article exhibited in 1641. by the King : and to the first, and part of the 2, 3, 4, 5, & 7. Articles, and some others (only *mutatis mutandis*) which were exhibited by the House of Commons against *Sirafford*, and also to some which were exhibited against *Canterbury*, even as face answereth to face, in water ? Truly wee are no longer free, but absolute slaves already: if we may not petition for our liberty, what ? unlesse we will first aske them what we shall petition, we must not it seems at all Petition ? Away with such Traitors from the Earth.

This Act and Vote, answers those traitorous speeches of *Harvy* and *Solloway*, two corrupt men of the House of Commons, who impudently said, (note) That the Parliament might doe what they would, and were not to be questioned for it. One of the Articles of high treason charged upon the Earle of *Sirafford*, was, as appears in the fourth article of his second impeachment or accusation) that he should declare and say, That Ireland was a conquered Nation, and that the King might doe with them what he pleased ; and is no here as much spoken, and more by these two traitorous spirits, *Harvy* and *Solloway* : For Ireland was indeed a Nation by us conquered, and his speech related to the King, who was their head, and had a power over them ; but these mens words are spoken of us a free People, who though formerly conquered, yet have not long since redeemed our liberties with our swords, and relate to a company of men, who are but subjects, and the Kingdomes servants, only called and chosen to counsell and advise ; not to reign and tyrannize. But let us argue it, all other Courts in the Land whatsoever, have rules of jurisdiction and limits, and hath the supreme Court of Parliament none ? It is very unreasonable even against all rule of reason, that that Court which prescribes rules to all other Courts, should be without all rule it self. The Lord chief Justice *Cook*, in his treatise of the jurisdiction of the high Court of Parliament declares, and proves otherwise : and I am certain that it is against the very constitution and

being of it, for there is both \* (*Lex & consuetudo Parliamenti*) both a Law and a custome, or usage of Parliament. Besides there is a fundamental Law of the Land, against which the Parliament cannot (that is lawfully a Parliament) act, for whatsoever act is made or done in Parliament that is contrary to *Magna Charta*, is void, no Law, and not to be \* obeyed / and what force then if well examined are most of our present Parliament Votes.

\* See 42. Ed. 3. chap. 1.

\* But new

Lords new laws. without a law and rule, nor may doe what they will, nor any thing (onely in case of extremity, and then also for good of the publicke, and not unto example) contrary to the fundamentall Lawes and constitutions of the Kingdome. And was not one *Wentworth* of the House of Commons questioned, yea, and committed in the daies of Queen *Elizabeth*, for his words and deeds in the House ? And can they themselves deny but that for Treason, felony, and breach of the Peace, they are questionable : By all which it is clear, that the proudest of them may be questioned, and is accountable for any misdemeanour, or illegall unjust act done by them within the House. They say to question them for any thing out of the House, is a breach of their privilege : and must we question them neither in the House ? What is a Parliament man lawlesse ? Neither without nor within : there is a new privilege (as their Ordinances are a new manner of Lawes) it was not so of old. The King who is the Supreme head, is not without the Law, hee may not doe what he list : Sure then much lesse may they, who are but subjects and only counsellors not Commanders, Servants not Masters. But is not this strange doctrine, my friends, that a Parliament man must not be questioned for whatsoever he doth in the House ? Lo here is a new Hydra-headed prerogative for you to suppress, which ye never expected. Lop it betimes : for this position, tends directly to the subversion of all our Laws and liberties, and the exaction of an arbitrary rule over us. And if this Vote be not reasonable what is ? For by this rule they may within the House, consult, contrive and act high Treason against King and Kingdome, commit murder, pick pockets, and breake the peace, devise and conspire to destroy and massacre us, to rob and spoile us, and not to be questioned : because it was resolved, and done within the House. Brave Parliamentary principles !

Is it not more then high time fellow Commoners to rouse up our Spirits, and bestirre us, to bring such as are the authors and promoters of these and such like destructive counsels and actions to condigne punishment? shall not the Judge of all the world (saith *Abraham*) do right? and shall not the Court of Courts, the Supreme Court of all the Kingdom (we may say) do right? Woe is to us, for lamentable is our case; our Stream must needs be puddle and dirt, when our very Fountain is filthy and corrupt: (*Corruptio optima est pessima*) that which is best, being corrupted is the worst: that which was formerly Englands Balsum and Antidote, is now become Englands greatest Corasive and poyson: yet not in it selfe, but by accident, through the boundles of ambition, and insatiable avarice of a company of traiterous persons in both Houses of Parliament; the chief of which are *Manchester* and *Stamford, Stapleton* and *Hollis, Merrick* and some others, who have run themselves by their wicked deeds against the King and Common Wealth, into a desperate condition; and therefore endeavour by all means to bring the Land into a confusion, and so to make our latter end worse then our beginning: This *Stapletons* Speech verities, who lately said, (It is now come to this, that either we must sinke them, (meaning the Army) and their friends, or they sink us;) unto this end it seems they have so highly provoked the Army: For prevention of which calamity, and to procure our selves ease and remedy, we must take them away, charge them home and demand their persons to be delivered up to justice: why feare we? what power hath any Parliament man, that he hath not received from them that chose him? And if a King so soon as he ceaseth to rule by the known Law, doth degenerate into a Tyrant, and is worthy to be ejected; what are those Parliament men, *Manchester, Hollis, Stapleton* and others of this Faction, who have so probably, contrary to their Oaths, Trusts and Duties, left all rule of Law and Justice, and by their power and prevalency have dealt with us, and disposed of our estates and liberties, after their owne wicked, crooked wils? and what are these men worthy of according to law and reason? expulsion is too little, and beheading is too honourable: But happily some of them may say by mee, because I declare that which they no wayes colour, that I am mid; I am sure they are, & their madnesse doth appeare to all men, otherwise some of them would not have so basely reproached his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (who came to London only because of his disease, & staid there a while for his infirmity and weaknes) in saying it was fitter for him to be with his Army, which is in a distemper, then to be in Hide Park courting of Ladies. If the Army be distempered, hath not *Manchester, Stapleton, Hollis* and that turbulent faction distempered them, by their im-parliamentary Declaration against them, and ingratefull abuse of them? Nay, do they not distemper and trouble the Parliament, and whole Kingdom? are not they the only obstruckers of our settlement in England, and of the reliefe of distressed Ireland? are not these I say the cause of all our distraction and disturbance? I wish they were not; and as for Sir *Thomas* his courting of Ladies, I would Sir *Peter Temple*, Sir *John Merrick*, Sir *John Hippisly*, *M. Moyle*, *Moore*, *Bell*, *Bowyer*, and too many more among them, did not more court Harlots,

\* Foth what visit Whores, and exercise drunkennesse,\* and other baseness, then honourable a stinke is here. Sir *Thomas*, worthy man doth delight in courting of Ladies? I do remember when the Earle of *Essex*, and his chiefe Commanders, *Merrick*, (one of the

Oh sweet trayterous crew) and the rest, came to London, to laze, smoke Tobacco and Reformers. drinke fask, court, complement, vaunt and vapour of that they never did, and a potent enemy at hand in the field, who came up to Brainford, to the hazzard of the whole Army and City before they were discovered, and no Chief Officer there, either to command, or deliver forth \* Ammunition; and when not only the Ge-

\* Thanks false nerall but all the chiefe Officers, while there was a destroying enemy in power *Merrick*, thou abroad, came and staid their own time in London, to revell, ramble, and rore, didst the like drinke, domineer and whore, while the souldier was left without restriction or order, to range, raven and plunder, spoile and make waste, at *St. Albans*, and in the Country thereabouts, and no complaint made of distemper, or disorder, either by the House or any of their Members: but the Proverb is, that some may better steale a Horse, then others look over the hedge, If Sir *Thomas* his Officers



or souldiers were like wicked Col. Graves, then this evill Faction might say they were distempered indeed: yet this lewd shamelesse man is Stapletons onely Minion, and the principall instrument, (as truly most fit for their wicked purpose) in the Army, for this malicious, malevolent party: but these men like Toads are so big swoln with pride and despite, that they are ready to burst; and their poyson will never be purged out, nor we freed from the diffused venome of it, till some of them be highly exalted, and made an example. Take away the wicked from the King (saith Solomon) and his Throne shall be established in righteousness: take away the wicked and trayterous out of both Houses of Parliament, and the Parliament shall be upright, and proper, and we poore Commons be soon established in peace and happiness.

In the Book of Declarations, pag. 207. they seem to cleare themselves of a charge laid upon them by the King, saying: That there was no colour, that they went about to in-

\* Marke. trodure a new Law, much lesse to exercise \* an arbitrary power, but to prevent it. How true this tax or charge hath since proved, let the whole Land judge, and their own actions witness: for if they have not brought in a new Law, I am sure they have made no use of the old, unlesse it hath been for evill. And whether they have exercised an Arbitrary power, I need not aske the question, for it is past doubt or scruple. But they say in the same Declaration, That this Law is as old as the Kingdome, to wit, That the Kingdome must not be without a meanes to preserve it selfe. It is well (yet truly granted.) By their own principle you see, the naturall or reall body politique,

\* Mark and make use of it.

in case the Representative, or virtuall faile, and deceive their trust, \* hath power to preserve it selfe: Marke yee free Commons of England, here is a sure ground for yee to stand on, yee are not yet past hope, nor destitute of meanes of helpe: therefore cheere up your spirits, and quit your selves like men: imploy and improve your just powers, for the preservation of your selves against all those selfe-seeking, ambitious, trayterous, tyrannicall spirits in both Houses; who have forsworn them selves, betrayd their trust, and imployed all their power and interest, wherewith yee intrusted them, for your good and safety, to your woe and misery: And yee faithfull in the House of Commons, whose hearts have ever been upright, (although yee have been awed and overpowered) to God, your King, and Countrey; beware of these seducers, who would involve you in the same treasonable workes with them, that so they like Pick-pockets, may the better scape in a crowd unseen: rather protest against them, and their proceedings; and declare them to the Kingdome, serve them as they have served others: thus yee will acquit your selves of jealousies, and guilt, discharge your trust and duties, and endear your selves to your Countreies: otherwise you must expect to suffer as partakers, and to undergoe the censure of confederates, and compactours: sure and stable is this principl, (Salus populi est suprema Lex, The welfare and safety of the People is the supream Law: and therefore where this end is by Trustees perverted or neglected, the People by the Law of Nature have power to preserve and secure themselves: and as certaine is that Rule, that (Major quifacit, quàm quod fit: He which makes is greater than that which is made, and therefore is to be preferred: and in case that which is made prove uselesse, hurtfull, or unprofitable, he which makes hath power to modify, restrain, remove, or nullifie, even as seemeth good unto him: and may most conduce to his good and benefit: And therefore in case we cannot receive justice from the Parliament, let us use our powers, and apply our selves, my friends and fellow Commoners, to have justice upon the Authors of our injustice and oppressions: and no longer stand still like People without life and spirit, and suffer our just and reasonable demands and requests to be distasteth and despised, as dung or dirt; our Petitions for liberty and justice, to be illegally

censured and sentenced to be burnt, as some horrid, treasonable and blasphemous opinions, or papers, and our neighbours, friends, and fellow Commoners, to be tyrannically imprisoned, and barbarously used before our eyes, for standing up in the behalfe of the Kingdom, and petitioning for our native and lawfull rights and liberties; by a desperate wicked party of false perfidious men in both Houses, Machiavilians and Traytors: whose Votes and Counsels, waies and workings, tend onely to secure their guilty carcasses from justice, and to enslave and destroy us, and our rights and freedoms, who have no feare of the Lord before them; nor any compassion or tender respect to their native Country this distressed Nation.

And now yee grave and wealthy Citizens of the Presbyterian faction, whose eyes are swoln with farnesse, and whose hearts with pride and ambition: who happily according to the generall fortune of the great men of London, are endued with a greater portion of riches, state and presumption, then of prudence, integrity or wisdom: Give me leave to tell you an Itinerant story, or a parabolical tale of two Travellers: There were two Travellers met upon the road, and passed friendly a long time in silence together; at length they discover to each other whither they are going, and the end and intention of their travell, and the way they would walke, and they agreed both in one mind, and upon one thing, and so they ratifie their association and friendship; but the one was not onely weary, but ore-weakened (at least he so appeared) both in strength and purse, by reason of his long journey, and the many difficulties and dangers hee had already incountered, and overcome, and very knowing was hee of the way that was yet to be travelled, and of the dangers and difficulties which would oppose them therein, before they should come to their journeyes end: the other albeit he had come as farre, yet by reason hee was thoroughly well furnished and provided of monies and all needfull supplies at his first setting forth, did retaine the more ability and strength, and had the most monies for his support throughout: but alas he was not so knowing in the way, nor skilfull as the other, to avoid the dangers therein: whereupon he promisseth the other assistance with his purse, and strength, to carry him through all straits, till they come to their journeyes end, so that he would be aiding and assisting to him with his counsell and advice, for the suppressing and passing of those oppositions and perills, which were in the way yet unpasse; both agreed rejoyced, and on they journeyed, with all reciprocall officiousnesse, and respect each to other (the weak man hee wanted not supply or support, the other hee wanted no comfortable words, counsell, or polittick advice) untill after many extremities and straights past, they came to the last and greatest; and that was a steep craggie mountaine; full of straight passages, slippery by-waies, and dubious windings, with desperate precipices on each side; the faire and safe way which led to a better end, lying direct in the middle. Here these two Travellers were put to a stand, the weak wearied man was not able of himself to ascend, the other notwithstanding his strength, durst not adventure alone, lest hee should slip and fall, or lose his way, and become a prey at length; the weak man leads the other his staffe to stay him up, and defend him, and the strong man by his strength takes up the weak, and so they both with much hazard and trouble gat up to the top of this inaccessible Mountaine; and now they might see the long desired end of their journey, and themselves past all danger, which made them both glad, and

\* Observe. to congratulate: \* But the weary weak man, having now been brought at the charge and by the strength and support of the other, through all straites and difficulties, and knowing himselfe to be much in arreare to his friendly fellow Traveller, and that hee would expect satisfaction and recompence, and like beneficence from him, when they were at rest, and all things were accomplished: Hee tooke his staffe from him



him, (which hee had lent him for a stay and defense unto him untill hee had carried him up the hill) and taking an occasion to quarrell with him, about some slip, denyall of some monies, or neglect of his advice, fell upon him and beate him, bound him, and robbed him of his money and treasure, and so left him in the midst of a thicker, destitute and so destroyed and undone. The weake weary man yee may suppose to be the Parliament: The stronger and better provided, to be the wise Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-council-men, with the rest of the Presbyteriall faction in London: The Mountaine to be the Presbyters designe: and the Staffe to be the Militia; which is now put into the hands of the Presbyterian party in London. The application I leave to the apprehension of them, and of all judicious Citizens, and Commoners of England. And will conclude with wise Solomon, There is no new thing under the Sunne: that which hath been is now: And what is there that hath been, which may not be againe? *Præmoniti præmoniti*, forewarned halfe armed, and (*prævisa minus lædunt*) things fore-seen doe lesse hurt. I wish you really well, yee grave Citizens of London, both for your owne and Englands sake; and God make you discerning and wise, that yee may not by the dissembling epistles and speeches of a deceitfull hypocriticall Nation, and the subtill sophistry of an ambitious aspiring party in both Houses of Parliament, such as Stapleton, Hollis, &c. and of the proud, covetous Clergy, be made the instruments (after you have served their turnes) of your owne ruine and the Lands.

I could here take occasion (as there is good reason, howsoever what is for present permitted, is not forgot) to shew you (deare friends and fellow Commoners) how yee have been abused and betrayed, by this very party and faction in both Houses, their Agents and instruments from the beginning at Sherborne, Northampton, Worcester, Edgehill, Kingston, Brainford, Newarke, Exeter, Reading, Thame, (O

\* S. Philip Stapleton was there also, and beheld afar off; was he that would not suffer the queens and all along, untill the Lord raised up Sir Thomas Fairfax to be a Regiment to be charged at Salisbury or Blandford.

Thame) the Devizes, Chalgrove field, (where \* noble Hambden, it is conceived, and who knoweth but it may in time be proved, was delivered to death?) Lincoln, Boston, Crowland, Cornwall, Denington-Castle, (where Manchester acted Treason) Newarke againe, and Oxford: Durham, Cumberland, Westmerland, even in every place. But me thinkes I already see this serpentine brood (like the old Serpent) casting a flood out after me to destroy me, and their defiled consciences being like the Sea troubled: they send forth mire and dirt; wrath, and revenge, reproaches, curses, beagles, and blood hounds, Votes, Orders and Messengers, like the Popes execrations, with bell, book, and candle. Alas, bene læte quibene vivit. I wish these miscreants (for their soules sakes) hid no more cause to be afraid then I. The righteous is as bold as a Lyon, but the wicked flees when none pursues. The theefe thinks every bush, and every bulk a Constable, and a gaulled horse hath no patience when his fore is rubbed: this Sir Philip Stapleton knows, for he hath good skill in horse-flesh. But seeing these vile men will dare to sinne openly, and to deale falsely before the World, why should we be afraid to reprove them openly, and to declare it to the World? They declare their sins as Sodome, they hide them not. *Isai. 3. 9.* they have (as the Scripture speaks) a brazen face, and a Whores fore-head; and why should wee be silent, and connive at that which all Christendome sees, or turne our backs, and be pypms and panders to our owne ruines? Why should wee be more afraid (whom it concerns) to publish their robbery, oppression, injustice, and Treason, then they are to act and execute contrary to their Oathes and duties?

Our Law condemnes no man for saying the Cole is blacke, or calling a Spade a Spade, although of late many have been \* imprisoned and punished for no more, nor other thing \* Marke. in effect: yet the looser will speake, and the oppressed will cry out: nor by the power of heaven shall my tongue be silent, or my Penne be slack, for the cause of God and this miserable Land; untill they doe set themselves in a way that is right, and execute justice and judgement.

Is it not more then high time to speak and stirre, when our just and lawfull Petitions are not onely rejected, but infamously burned as seditious, our inveterate Enemies armed, our persons for presenting our grievances, illegally imprisoned: when we are voted out of our Rights and Priviledges contrary to all Law and custome of Parliament. All men may now see, and plainly understand, that it is altogether vaine, any longer to use Petitioning, for that due right and liberty is denied and debarred. Wee must, I say wee must, if wee will recover our selves and our Priviledges, use action. Necessity hath no law, and extreme danger driveth to extreme means.

And now know for certaine, yee Trayterous party, yee false deceitfull men, whose hearts are set upon wickednesse, and whose heads devise mischief, and

\* Such works, such waies, and means. violence, that it is not you: \* breaking open of houses, taking away mens goods by force, spoiling of Printing Presses, and imprisoning of the Printers, without prooffe or cause, and punishing poore soules, who carry

Bookes to sell, will or can hide your shame, the day of your judgement is coming: your wickednesse is manifest as the Sunne, and your actions both publique and private are so abominable, that they stink in every reasonable mans nostrills: yee are become odious, and have made your selves a reproach and a hissing, and the very abjects of disdain and scorne, yea, insomuch that the name of a Parliament man, is as contemptible in the thoughts of most, as the name is generally of a Committee-man. And thus doe the good and virtuous of the House, suffer in their repute and esteeme, by your wickednesse, yea, your beloved friends and favourites cannot justifie you, nor open their mouths clearly for yee, and what will yee doe? what can yee do, when God shall stirre up the People to revenge? Remember Strafford and Canterbury, Finch, and Windebanke: Yee have deceived the People, and falsified your trust to them: yee have broken oathes, promises, and all manner of assurances with them, under a pretence of redeeming their liberties, and making them free, yee involved them in an unnaturall, and bloody Warre against each other, and now yee your selves exercise more abundant tyrannie, and keep them in most strict and intolerable slavery, under the pretence of paying the Souldiers, yee have by your Committees, and instruments, oppressed and robbed the Countries; and notwithstanding there is no Army paid, no reparations made, no debts satisfied, and thousands of Widowes and fatherlesse and maimed souldiers unprovided for: under pretence of preserving the people, yee have destroyed them, and under the colour of establishing Law and justice, yee have taken away both: and although yee raised Armes to redeem the King from his wicked Councell, and have solemnly sworn to maintaine his Crowne and dignity, and declared Book Dec. pag. 94. that what you did was for his honour and greatnesse, and the weale of his Kingdomes. Yet though hee be redeemed, hee is not restored, nor is his Crowne and dignity maintained: Nay yee your selves exercise the Kingly office; y e, I

say it againe, yee your selves exercise the Kingly office: For ye make Lord \* Without Keepers, Judges and Barons, grant Pardons, and give Commissions of Oyer the King mee: and Terminer: I have known a mean man dye as a traitor for doing lesse treason, and nor are the Acts or Process passed under the broad Seale of any value: In without his all which yee are but usurpers (I should not mistake if I said Traytors) I say usurpers

assent worse usurpers, and take too much upon you; for by Law there is no such power then nothing, or right belonging to you, or invested in yee: You keep the King under restraint, and with-hold him from the execution of it, and doe not satisfie the World wherefore ye doe it: you are like the Dog in the manger, which will neither let the horse eat the hay, nor eat it himself: yee will neither admit the King to do justice, and redresse our grievances, nor will yee your selves: yee have made no other use of the Kings power and name, than to deceive, oppresse, and abuse the People.

Is this to doe for his honour and greatness, and the good of his Kingdomes? *contrarium verò est verum, the contrary is true, by true.*

I speak not in favour of his Majestie further then conscience and equity; the Lord my Maker knows I am sincerely for truth and justice, without partiality, and against the contrary, wheresoever, or in whomsoever I find it: but a tyrant or felon by the Law looseth not any of his franchises, possessions and estate, before he be convicted: let Cesar have his due, and us the free Commons ours: if not, I doubt not, but you will in due time have yours: If the King be King let him reigne: if he have otherwise deserved, why proceed ye not legally against him, that the World may see and judge, and ye be cleared of all calumny and aspersions? But as you doe, and deale with us, so ye deale with him: Us ye doe unjustly imprison and oppresse, rob, and spoyle, destroy our Liberties, take away our estates, and undoe our Families, and shew us no Law, Cause or Reason, but a tyrannicall, unjust, illegall, or treasonable Vote, Order, or Ordinance: (Sic vultis, sic jubet's, stat pro ratione voluntas:) Your Arbitrary wills are become Englands Lawes.

And would yee know, yee Commons of England, why the King is not in all this time brought home, nor any thing resolved nor determined of him? I will tell you (deare friends) what I conceive I see: The Earle of Manchester, M. Hollis, Stapleton, and others, who are absolutely the chiefe instrumentall causes of all the evils, wee have lately suffered, and doe still sustaine, and some of which have received vast summes of monies, whereof they know themselves unable to give any good account, are in danger to be punished as traytors and deceivers, and be sacrificed to justice: and therefore through their power, prevalency, and policy, a settlement between King and Parliament is deferred: because by reason of the Army, whose integrity and zeale for justice they feare (and therefore onely would disband them) they cannot impose such particular, peculiar conditions upon the Kings, as will fully secure them, and conduce to their Presbyterian designe: this I doe beleve, is the summe of all. But must the King and his People be still divided, the breach lye open, and the difference uncomposed, the Kingdome unsetled, the peoples peace and happiness still delayed, and our miseries still prolonged and continued, to satisfie the unjust desires of a company of matchlesse Machiavilian traytors, who to save themselves, have endeavoured by all meanes to destroy us? Must wee languish in our sufferings and sorrowes to waite their opportunities? It is neither meet nor right it should be so, nor prudence nor wisdom to permit it so, let us therefore have an end of our troubles and distractions, or else apply our selves to put an end to their tyranny, treason, and Lordlinesse, that they may not wholly: and utterly lay us waste and ruine us. And if in case of the Kings failing of his trust, and denyall to settle the Militia or strength of the Kingdome in such hands, and in such a way, as the people may be thereby safe and secured, the Parliament (the representative body) may for the safety of his Majesty, and Kingdomes, take the dispose and ordering of it into their hands: then by the same rule, forasmuch as the Parliament have failed of their trust, and put the Militia and strength of the Kingdome into such hands, and in such a way, as wee cannot confide or be safe in: Wee the free

Commons of England, the real and essentiall body pollicke, or any part of us, may order and dispose of our owne Armes and strength, for our owne preservation and safety; and the Army in particular (without question) may lawfully retaine, order and dispose of their armes and strength, to and for the preservation and safety of the King and Kingdome, the principall end for which they were raised. This is the Parliaments owne doctrine, as you may read in Booke Declarations page 93. and 150. and therefore I hope neither heresie nor schisme, blasphemy nor treason. I have don:; and a rush for him that is angry, and as much for him who is fearefull in a just cau'e: Let such weigh well that saying of the holy Spirit, Prov. 29. 25. and then happily they my looke up and take courage: The feare of man bringeth a snare, but whosoever trusteth in the Lord shall be safe. (Timida probitas nunquam Reipublicæ est utilis.) Cowardly honesty is never profitable to the Common-wealth.

FINIS.

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